long ago that if we agree to what is presently the overspending in this budget, it could mean as much as $430 billion out of the surplus in the next few years.

Both an $18.9 billion natural-resources bill and a $23.6 billion measure that funds energy and water programs are expected to be sent to the White House, and the transportation bill soon could follow. The Republican leadership believes it has reached a compromise to free up the measure funding the Treasury and the operations of the White House and Capitol.

That still leaves the heart of the domestic budget—massive bills funding education, health, housing and environmental programs. Negotiations on those bills are hovering near or even above the president's spending requests.

The natural-resources bill agreed to last week illustrates the steady cost escalation: The $18.9 billion price tag is about $4 billion over the bill passed by the House in June.

In a landmark commitment to conservation, the legislation would devote as much as $12 billion during the next six years, mainly to buy lands and wildlife habitat threatened by development. As the annual commitment grows from $1.6 billion to $2.4 billion in 2006, more and more dollars would go for sorely needed maintenance work in the nation's parks.

Regarding the national parks, that is something with which I don't disagree.

I have suggested from time to time when my colleagues say there is nothing we can do because the President has the leverage over us in order to shut down the Government for which we would get the blame, if just once, with one appropriations bill, just one, we could send to the President a bill that doesn't have a single earmark, have a single legislative rider on it, then we would go into negotiations of the issue with the President with clean hands. When we add billions in pork barrel spending on our appropriations bills and then go into negotiations with the President, there is no difference except in priorities. It is wrong.

I have been spending a lot of time campaigning around the country for candidates for the House and for the Senate, and for our candidate for President, my party's candidate for President and Vice President of the United States. I can tell my colleagues, clearly the American people have it figured out. They don't like it. They want this practice to stop. They want us to fulfill a promise we made in 1994 when we asked them and they gave us the majorities in both Houses of Congress.

Mr. President, this appropriations pork barreling has got to stop. I intend to come to the floor with every bill, and if it keeps on, I will then take additional measures. We all know what is coming up: The train wreck. If it is as much as $45 billion more then our original $600 billion spending cap, I am not sure how such action is justified.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

NATIONAL ENERGY SECURITY ACT OF 2000—MOTION TO PROCEED—Resumed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the motion to proceed.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2557) to protect the energy security of the United States and decrease America's dependence on the foreign oil source to 50 percent by the year 2010 by enhancing the use of renewable energy resources, conserving energy resources, improving energy efficiencies, and increasing domestic energy supplies, mitigating the effect of increases in energy prices on the American consumer, including the poor and the elderly, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAIG. Has there been a time agreement on the legislation just proposed?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We have until 5:30 when we have a scheduled vote on another matter.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I will consume up to 15 minutes of time in relation to the energy issue.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I came to the floor to speak on this important issue before the Senate and to talk once again to my colleagues about what I believe to be the dark cloud of a national emergency. The American consumer has begun to detect a problem because the price of gasoline at the pump has gone up 25 or 30 percent in the last year. When they begin to pay their home heating bills this winter, I think they will recognize where the problem lies.

We have had the President and the Vice President trying to position themselves politically over the last month and a half on energy because of the spike in prices, but frankly they have articulated little. Now just in the last week we have had the Vice President present an energy policy for the country, and we have had Governor George Bush talking about an energy policy that he would propose.

Here is why these things are happening. Finally, I hope, the American people are beginning to focus on the very critical state of the availability of energy in this country, to run the economy, to make the country work, turn the lights on, move our cars, and do all that it takes to run an economy based on a heavy use of energy.

We are now importing between 56 to 58 percent of our crude oil needs. Some will remember that during the era of the oil embargo of the mid-1970s we were only importing 35 percent of our needs. Even at that time there were gas lines and fighting at the gas pumps because American consumers were frustrated over the cost of gas. What I am saying, America, is we no longer control our energy availability, our energy supplies, our energy needs.

Is it any wonder why prices have more than tripled in the last 2 years from a low of about $11 per barrel of crude oil to a high late last month of $38? The reason is somebody else is setting the price by creating either a scarcity of supply or by the appearance that there would be a scarcity of supply. It is not American producers controlling prices and supply, it is foreign producer countries.

The items we do control in the marketplace are demand and supplies we might be able to produce from our own resources. Natural was selling for $2 per 1,000 cubic feet last year, just a year ago, and on Friday of last week natural gas was selling for $5.20 for every 1,000 cubic feet. That is better than a doubling of that price.

As winter approaches, Americans likely will face the highest energy prices ever. Let me say that again. As the winter approaches, Americans are going to awaken to the highest energy prices they have ever paid. If the winter is colder than usual, energy prices will be even higher.

Electricity prices will move right along with gas and oil because many of the electrical-generating facilities of our country are fueled by natural gas. While petroleum and natural gas supplies appear to be adequate, no one can doubt that the supply and demand for crude oil, natural gas, and other energy sources is very tight, resulting in increased prices for these commodities. While many observers believe supplies of oil and natural gas will be sufficient to meet our needs in the coming months, I am concerned these important resources will likely remain in very short supply and, therefore, will be very costly to the American consumer.

I believe, and I mean this most sincerely, as a member of the Senate Energy Committee who for the last 10 years has tried to move policy and has seen this administration either say ''no'' by the veto or ''no'' by the budget, I sincerely believe the Clinton-Gore administration, by its failure to produce a national energy policy, is risking a slowdown, perhaps even a downturn, in this economy.

Some expect energy prices to remain high throughout the first quarter of 2001, above $30 a barrel for oil and as high as $4 per thousand cubic feet for natural gas. If this is true and that cost ripples through the economy, then they—and by ''they'' I mean the Clinton administration—are truly risking a slowdown in the economy. This means Americans will be paying more than $1.50 per gallon of gas and perhaps twice as much as they paid for residential natural gas use last year. Driving, heating homes, providing services and manufacturing goods will be much, much more expensive under this new high-cost energy economy.

It is not only the price at the pump you worry about anymore; it is the plastics; it is the supply of goods; it is everything within our economy that is made of the hydrocarbons that will go up in price. Since energy costs are

factored into the cost of all goods and services, we can expect food, appliances, clothing—essentially everything—to become more expensive. As these costs rise, the amount of capital available for investment automatically begins to decline, pulling the economy down along with it. As we devote more of our money to the daily need for energy, we have less to spend on the goods and services that we need, the goods and services that have fired our economy. As budgets shrink, consumers will be forced to make hard choices. If we have to spend 10 or 15 percent more of our income to fill up the tank or to buy the services and goods that are energy intensive, then, of course, we will have less money to spend elsewhere.

We are in this undesirable position not because we are short on energy resources such as oil, natural gas, or coal; we are here because this administration, in my opinion, has deliberately tried to drive us away from these energy sources. Look at their budgets and look at their policy over the last 8 years. AL GORE himself has spoken openly about how much he hates fossil fuels, how he wants to force the U.S. off fossil fuels no matter the cost. He has proposed many times to do so. Twice in the last 8 years the Clinton-Gore administration has tried to drive up the cost of conventional fuels. Isn't that interesting? Just in the last few weeks they have been trying to drive down the costs by releasing crude oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve into our market, but for the last 8 years it has been quite the opposite. America, are you listening? Are you observing? Why this change of heart? Why this change of personality?

First, Clinton and GORE proposed a Btu tax, which the Republican Congress defeated. They had to settle for a 4.3-cent gas tax. The Republicans in every way tried to resolve that and to eliminate it, but that was how they spread it into the market. They took that and said: We are not going to use it for highway transportation as we have historically done. We want it for deficit reduction.

During debate on the Btu tax, the administration admitted that its intent was to encourage conservation, or discourage use, and therefore cause us to move more toward renewable energy sources by dramatically increasing the cost of conventional fuels. In other words, tax America away from gasoline and oil.

Next, the Clinton-Gore administration designed the Kyoto Protocol. We all know about that. That is the great international agreement that will cool the country, cool the world down because the Administration asserts that the world is warming due to the use of fossil fuels. They said it is necessary that we do it, critically important that we do it. But if implemented, it would substantially penalize the nations that use fossil fuels by forcing reductions in fossil fuel usage. The Vice President has publicly taken credit for negotiating this document.

I don't think you hear him talking much about it today. He is a bit of a born-again gas and oil user of in last couple of weeks. But clearly for the last 8 years that is all he has talked about, his Kyoto Protocol, penalizing the user nations to try to get them to use less energy, all in the name of the environment. The protocol could result in a cost of nearly $240 per ton of carbon emissions reduction.

What does that mean to the average consumer out there who might be listening? This results in a higher cost of oil and gas and coal. What would it mean? About a 4-percent reduction in the gross domestic product of this country. If we raise the cost of those three items—oil, gas, and coal then we will drive down the economy 4-percent. Simply translated, that means thousands and thousands of U.S. jobs would be lost and our strong economy weakened. Yet the Vice President takes credit for flying to Tokyo and getting directly involved in the negotiations of the Kyoto Protocol. This is AL GORE's document. Yet he talks very little bit about it today.

Why is this administration so wholeheartedly committed to forcing us to stop using fossil fuels at almost any cost? Because they buy into the notion that our economic success has been at the expense of the world's environment. I do not buy into that argument. I think quite the opposite is true. I believe our success has benefited the world. Our technology is the technology that the rest of the world wants today to clean up their environment, to make their air cleaner, to make their water more pure. It is not in spite of us; it is because of us that the world has an opportunity today, through the use of our technology, to make the world a cleaner place to live.

The challenge now is to ensure we go on in the production of these technologies through the growth and the strength of our economy so we can pass these technologies through to developing nations so they can use them, whether it be for their energy resources or whether it is simply to create greater levels of efficiency, and a cleaner economy for their people.

The message to Vice President GORE is don't shut us down. Let us work. Let us develop. Let us use the technologies we have and expand upon them. You don't do that through the absence of energy. You don't do that with 2,300 windmills spread across the Rocky Mountain front. You do that by the use of what you have, to be used wisely and hopefully efficiently at the least cost to provide the greatest amount of energy that you can to the economy.

To ensure that we all succeed, we must pay attention to our strengths. The United States has an abundant supply of oil, natural gas, and coal, and we must, if we wish to have an influence on the price of these commodities, develop our own resources in an intelligent, responsible, and environmentally sound way.

Were we to produce oil from the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, we could produce up to 1.5 million barrels of oil a day. Some say that will destroy the refuge. Envision the refuge in your mind as a spot on a map, and compare it to putting a pencil point down on the map of the United States. The impact of that pencil point on the map of the United States is the same impact as drilling for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Shame on you, Mr. President, for vetoing that legislation a few years ago. If you had not, we might have 1.5 million barrels of additional crude oil a day flowing into our markets for 30-some years. We would not have to beg at the throne of OPEC. We would not have to go to them with our tin cup, saying: Would you please give us a little more oil? Your high prices are hurting our economy.

The President was not listening in 1995 when he vetoed that legislation. Other oil and gas resources can come from production from the Federal Outer Continental Shelf and from onshore Federal lands in the Rocky Mountain front. The abundance of our crude oil and the abundance of our gas is phenomenal. Yet, a year ago, in the northeastern part of the United States in New Hampshire, AL GORE, now a candidate for President of the United States, said he would stop all drilling. He does not want us to drill anywhere, and he would do it in the name of the environment.

These resources can be obtained today, under the new technologies we have, with little to no environmental impact. When we have finished, if any damage has occurred, we clean it up, we rehabilitate it, and the footprint that was made at the time of development is hardly noticeable. That is what we can do today.

There is no question that the road to less reliance on oil, natural gas, and coal is a responsible one, but it is a long one. You do not shut it off overnight without damaging an economy and frustrating a people.

We have these resources, and they are in abundance. We ought to be producing them at relatively inexpensive cost to the American consumer while we are investing in better photovoltaic and solar technologies and biomass, wind, and all of the other things that can help in the total package for energy.

The problem is simply this: This administration stopped us from producing additional energy supplies at a time of unprecedented growth in our economy. Of course, that economy has been based on the abundance and relatively low costs of energy.

Creating punitive regulatory demands, such as the Btu tax and the Kyoto Protocol, is not the way to go if you want an economy to prosper and you want the opportunities of that economy to be affordable and benefit

all of our citizens. Such policies create—the policies of which I have spoken, Btu tax and Kyoto Protocol—winners and losers. The great tragedy is that the American consumer ultimately becomes the loser.

The path to stable energy prices is through a free market that rewards efficiency and productivity and does not punish economies for favoring one form of energy over another. The American consumer will make that decision ultimately if he or she has an adequate number of choices in the marketplace.

The Vice President, in his recent speech on energy, simply repeated the tired, old rhetoric of the Carter administration and every Democrat candidate in past presidential elections. Each placed reliance on solar, wind, and other renewables and on energy conservation—all admirable goals that Presidents Reagan and Bush also encouraged, but Presidents Reagan and Bush supported renewables with the clear understanding that renewables could not be relied upon to replace fossil-fuel-fired electrical generating capacity that currently supplies our baseload of electricity. And that baseload demand will continue to rise as our economy grows.

Presidents Reagan and Bush also recognized that somehow the automobile was not just going to disappear overnight and that it was not going to be replaced by electric cars within the near future. They understood that. They rewarded production and encouraged production. For 8 years now, domestic oil and gas production has been discouraged and restricted, and the American consumer is paying the price at the pump. This winter the American consumer will also pay a dramatic price as their furnaces turn on.

Can it be turned around overnight? Absolutely not. We must begin to invest in the business of producing, whether it be electricity or whether it be oil from domestic reserves or gas. It is there. It awaits us. We simply have to reward the marketplace, and the marketplace will produce. We cannot continue to squeeze it, penalize it, and refuse access to the supplies the American consumer needs.

It is a simple message but a complicated one, especially complicated by an administration that says: No, no, no, let the wind and the Sun make up the difference. Probably not in my lifetime or in the lifetime of any of the youngest people listening today can and will that be possible. But a combination of all of those elements of energy coming together—hydro, nuclear, or the production of crude oil and gas from our own reserves, supplies from abroad, and renewables and conservation—will be necessary to carry us through a crisis that clearly could spell a major hit to our economy.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THOMAS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand the order of business is the energy bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. We are on the motion to proceed.

Mr. THOMAS. I thank the Chair.

As I have said before, energy is terribly important to all of us. It is particularly important to those of us who come from producer States. But perhaps if you come from a part of the country where there is no production and the cost continues to go up, you are even more concerned. In New England, that is pretty much the case.

In any event, we do have a problem in energy and we have to find solutions. We have two very different points of view in terms of what our needs are and how we meet them.

Many wonder, of course, why gas and diesel prices are so high. Heating oil will be very expensive. I come from a production State, and it wasn't long ago that oil in our oil fields was bringing less than $10 a barrel. Now, of course, in the world price, we are up in the thirties. Part of that, of course—I think the major part—is that we have relatively little impact on the price. We have allowed ourselves, over a period of time, to become dependent upon importation of oil. We have not had, in my view, an energy policy. We have had 8 years of an administration that really has not wanted to deal with the idea of having a policy in terms of where we are going.

I have become more and more convinced—it is not a brand new idea, but I think it doesn't often get applied—that we have to set policies and goals for where we need to be over a period of time. And then, as we work toward that, we can measure the various things we do with respect to attaining that goal. If our goal is—and I think it should be—that we become less dependent upon imported oil, then we have to make some arrangements to be there. That has not been the case.

This administration, on the other hand, has basically gone the other way and has indicated that we ought to reduce our domestic production. In fact, our consumption requirements have gone up substantially over the last couple of years—about 14 percent. During the same period of time, domestic production has gone down approximately 17 percent.

In 1990, U.S. jobs in exploring and producing oil and gas were about 400,000 or 500,000 people. In 1999, the number of people doing the same thing was about 293,000—a 27-percent decline.

Why is this? Part of it is because we haven't really had this goal of how we were going to meet our energy demands and then measure some of the things that have brought us to where we are. On the contrary, the policy pursued from this administration has been one that has made domestic production even more difficult than it was in the beginning—and more difficult than it needs to be, as a matter of fact.

So I guess you can talk about releasing oil from our strategic storage. I don't make as big a thing out of it as some, but that is not a long-term answer. It is a relatively small amount of oil compared to our usage—about a day and a half's usage—and it is not going to make a big difference in terms and no difference to where we are in being able to have domestic production in the future. I set that aside. I only warn that that can't be offered as a solution to the energy problem. That seems to be about all this administration is prepared to do.

On the contrary, going back over some time, in 1993 the first Btu tax increased the cost of a gallon of gas about 8 cents. The compromise was about 3 cents, with the Vice President casting the deciding vote. Now, of course, the effort is to manipulate the price of the storage oil, but it won't do that. As I said, it is only about 1 and a half day's supply.

We find our refineries now producing at about 95-percent capacity, partly because of some of the restrictions placed on these facilities. Some have gone out of business, and practically none has been built. We find natural gas, of course, becoming increasingly important. Fifty percent of U.S. homes and 56 million people rely on natural gas for heating. It provides 15 percent of our power. It will provide more in that this administration has also moved basically against the use of coal, which is our largest producer of electric energy, instead of finding ways to make coal more acceptable. The coal industry has been working hard on that. We have low-sulfur coal in my State. This administration has pushed against that, and we have therefore had less use than we had before.

So what do we do? I think certainly there are a number of things we can do. There does need to be a policy. A policy is being talked about by George Bush, which is supported generally here in the Senate—that would be No. 1—to help low-income households with their energy bills and put some more money in as a short-term solution to help with the low-income energy assistance program. We can do that. We can direct a portion of all the gas royalty payments to that program and offset some of the costs over time. We are always going to have the need, it seems to me, regardless of the price, for low-income assistance. We can do that. And we can establish a Northeast management home heating reserve to make sure home heating is available for the Northeast. We should use the Strategic Petroleum Reserve only in times of real crises—not price, but crises such as the wars of several years ago.

We need to make energy security a priority of U.S. foreign policy. We can

do a great deal with Canada and Mexico. It seems we ought to be able to exercise a little more influence with the Middle East. Certainly, we have had a lot to do with those countries in the past—being helpful there. I think we can make more of an impact in Venezuela than we have. I think we can support meetings of the G–8 energy ministers, or their equivalent, more often.

Maybe most importantly, we have lots of resources domestically, and instead of making them more difficult to reach, we ought to make it easier. I come from a State that is 50-percent owned by the Federal Government. Of course, there are places such as Yellowstone Park and Teton Park where you are never going to do minerals and should not. Much of that land is Bureau of Land Management land that is not set aside for any particular purpose. It was there when the homestead stopped and was simply residual and became public land. It is more multiple use. We can protect the environment and continue to use it—whether it is for hiking, hunting, grazing, or whether indeed for mineral exploration and production, as we now do.

This administration has made it difficult to do that. We can improve the regulatory process. I not only serve on the Energy Committee, but on the Environment and Public Works Committee. Constantly we are faced with new regulations that make it more difficult, particularly for small refineries, to live within the rules. Many times they just give it up and close those. We can change that. It depends on what we want to do with the policy. It depends on our goals and what we want to do with domestic production and whether or not these kinds of things contribute to the attainment of those goals. It is pretty clear that they don't.

I think we can find ways to establish clear rules to have some nuclear plants that are safe, so they indeed can operate. They are very efficient. We talk about the environment. They are friendly to the environment. We need to do something. Of course, if we are going to do that, as they do in France and the Scandinavian countries, we can recycle the waste, or at least after a number of years we can have a waste storage at Yucca Mountain, NV. This administration has resisted that entirely, as have many Members on the other side of the aisle.

So these are all things that could be done and are being talked about. We are talking about breaching dams. I think everybody wants to look for alternative sources. We ought to use wind and solar. But the fact is that those really generate now about 2 percent of the total usage that we have. Maybe they will do more one of these days. I hope they do. We have some of that in my State as well. As a matter of fact, my business built a building about 20 years ago, and we fixed it up with solar power. I have to admit it didn't work very well. It works better now, and we can continue to make it work better, but it is not the short-term answer to our energy problems.

We can do something with ANWR. I have gone up to the North Slope of Alaska. You can see how they do the very careful extraction. You have to get the caribou out of the way. But you can see what is going on. That can be done. I am confident it can be done.

Those are some of the things that are suggested and which I think ought to have real consideration. It is difficult sometimes to try to reconcile environmental issues. I don't know of anyone who doesn't want to do that. Environmental protection has to be considered, but it doesn't mean you have to do away with access.

Quite frankly, one of the real problems we have in some States is how to use open spaces. We are doing something in my State about protecting the environment and protecting public land. Too many people say you just shouldn't use it for anything at all. When some States, such as Nevada and others, are up as high as 85 percent in Federal ownership, I can tell you it is impossible to have an economy in those States and take that attitude. On the other hand, I am persuaded that we can have reasonable kinds of programs that allow multiple use and at the same time protect the future use of those lands. It seems to me those are the kinds of things we ought to be doing.

It is very difficult. It is certainly easy to set energy policy back, particularly when the price has gone up as it has. I think all of us remember a year or so ago when the price at the gas pump was down as low as 86 cents a gallon. Now in my State it is as high as $1.60. You think about it a lot more when it is $1.60 than when it is 86 cents. We didn't complain much about the producers then. But now we are pretty critical. We need a policy.

That is the opportunity we have in this Congress—to really establish some of the byways and roadways to help us achieve a reduction on our dependency on foreign oil. We need to move toward changes in consumption and in the way we travel. I have no objection to that. The fact is, that is going to take time. The economy, the prosperity, and the security of this country depends a great deal on an ample and available energy source. It requires an energy policy. It requires the administration to step up to the plate and work with this Congress to continue to work to establish an energy policy.

That is our task. That is our challenge. I think it is a necessary movement in order to continue to have freedom and economic prosperity.

I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HUTCHISON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENERGY AND WATER DEVELOPMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2001—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, we are about to cast a vote at 5:30. I think in many ways this is a very difficult situation. I come to the floor this afternoon expressing my gratitude to the distinguished chair of the Energy and Water Subcommittee and certainly to the ranking member, the Senator from Nevada, our extraordinary assistant Democratic leader, for the great work they have done in responding to many of the issues and concerns that our colleagues have raised. I think in large measure it is a very balanced bill.

Unfortunately, we were unable to resolve what is a very significant matter relating to the Missouri River and the precedent that it sets for all rivers. The Corps of Engineers must, from time to time, update the master manual for the rivers that it manages. Unfortunately, some of our colleagues on the other side of the aisle have indicated that they were unwilling to compromise with regard to finding a way they could address their concerns without calling a complete halt to a multiyear process that has been underway to revise and update a master manual that is now over 40 years old. That is the issue: a manual that affects thousands of miles of river, hundreds of thousands, if not billions, of dollars of revenue generated from hydroelectric power, navigation, irrigation, municipal water, and bank stabilization.

There is perhaps no more complicated management challenge than the one affecting the Missouri and, for that matter, the Mississippi Rivers.

So our challenge has been to address the concerns of the two Senators from Missouri in a way that recognizes their legitimate questions regarding the Corps' intent on management, and also to recognize that there are stretches of the river both affecting the Mississippi in downstream States as well as all of the upstream States that also must be addressed, that also have to be worked out, that have to be recognized and achieved in some way.

We have gone to our distinguished colleagues on the other side on a number of occasions indicating a willingness to compromise, indicating a willingness to sit down to try to find a way to resolve this matter. I must say, we have been rebuffed at every one of those efforts. So we are left today with no choice.

What I hope will happen is that we can vote in opposition to the bill in numbers sufficient enough to indicate our ability to sustain a veto; the President will then veto this legislation, as he has now noted publicly and privately on several occasions; and that we come down together to the White House, or anywhere else, work out a